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A STUDY OF THE WORD *ZOANON*

A SCIENTIFIC discipline is privileged to reserve for its use a given word in a technical sense, however strikingly at variance, in certain instances, the restricted may be with the common significance of the term. Thus the physicist arbitrarily allots his meaning to words,—as weight, mass, volume, ether, horsepower,—and no one quarrels with him. The archaeologist, therefore, whose method is scientific, should be at liberty to restrict the sense of various terms which he must frequently employ, but it should be essential that, like the physicist, astronomer, biologist, and other professed scientists, he be uniformly consistent in such usage. Patently it should be required that archaeologists, as a class, sanction only one meaning for any one technical term. Unfortunately in archaeology at present there is not this precision of nomenclature, whence comes much confusion which bewilders, if it does not lead astray, novices as well as some adepts. *Xoanon* chances to be in the handbooks of our generation one of these polysignificant words.

I quote from several of the authorities who are much consulted by students: (1) "The primitive wooden figures which served as cult-images were known as *xoana*, meaning 'hewn-objects'" (H. B. Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, p. 70); (2) there are "the upright draped figure, *xoanon* type, the seated Demeter type" etc. (W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 305); (3) "It" (the so-called Hera from Samos, in the Louvre) "exhibits a roundness as remarkable as is the flatness of the Naxian statue from Delos, and has for that reason been supposed to show the influence of wooden statues carved from logs. It may possibly be an imitation in marble of an ancient wooden figure (*xoanon*), but as such figures were probably always clad in real garments, not carved as draped figures, the style of the drapery, at any rate, can hardly show the influence of sculpture in wood" (Fowler and Wheeler, *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 201); (4) "It" (the Naxian statue from Delos) "might almost be taken for a pillar or a tree-

trunk, with summary indications of a head, hair, arms, and a girdle. . . . The Greeks called these figures *xoana* (from *xecin*, to scrape wood), that is to say, images carved in wood, which seems to have been the material first used for large statues. Another feminine type, the Hera of Samos, . . . is about thirty or forty years later in date" (S. Reinach, *Apollo*, Eng. trans. by Florence Simmonds, p. 38). These definitions, sufficiently various to establish the fact of learned discrepancy in the use of the word, are typical of the several views underlying the current usage of the term in books and periodicals devoted to classical archaeology. It is particularly instructive to note that Dr. Rouse, without explanation, has assumed that the word denotes an *upright draped figure*, a type which he contrasts with the seated draped figure and the standing nude. This assumption, it could be shown, is the most common; those who make it, however, differing in opinion as to whether the Naxian or the Samian figure presents the original *xoanon* type,—most of them agreeing, it should be added, in the theory, tacit or explicit, that the marble figure is a derivative from a more ancient wooden image.

Liddell and Scott in their unabridged Greek-English Lexicon are conspicuously unsatisfactory in their account of the word *ξύανον*. They derive it from *ξύω* and define as follows: "an image carved of wood, Xen. *An.* V, 3, 11; then, generally, an image, statue, especially of a god, Eur. *I. T.* 1359; *Tro.* 525, 1074. (II. a musical instrument, Soph. *Fr.* 228.)" The second division (II), which I have bracketed, I neglect, as having no bearing on the problem in hand. The definition in its first part, where a single reference is adduced (to Xenophon), agrees with that of Dr. Walters quoted above, except that it does not state that a *xoanon* is a *primitive* statue serving as *cult-image*. The citations in support of the more general meaning of the word, as a synonym of *ἄγαλμα*, etc. are of little value. That from the *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1358-9) reads

τίνι λόγῳ πορθμεύετε
κλέπτοντες ἐκ γῆς ξόανα καὶ θυηπόλους;

The enallage, which is purely poetic, is of course not intended to obscure the immediate reference to the theft by Orestes and Iphigenia of the image of the Tauric goddess. From other

sources it is clear that this image was of wood. The second passage (*Troades*, 525) reads:

τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον
'Ιλιάδι Διογενεὶ Κόρα.

Again the image, this time the Trojan Horse, is of wood. Therefore these two references do not alter the earlier definition and do not indicate a more general meaning for the word, like that of *ἄγαλμα*. The last passage cited (*Troades*, 1074), to the effect that Troy's sacred rites, shrines, and statues are of the past, contains the phrase, *χρυσέων τε ξόανων τύποι*. At first sight this seems to be a general term for images, and yet, on consideration, one must say that there is no reason against two arguments destructive of such a theory: (1) that Euripides is here deliberately giving an antique flavor to his words; (2) that these *xoana* of Troy might well have been *wooden images gilded*. Accordingly, Liddell and Scott in their definition actually give no ground for the belief that the word *ξόανον* was ever used except of a *wooden image*. I have treated their account at some length, inasmuch as a young student might naturally suppose that this lexicon would give some aid toward determining Greek usage of this word.

Dr. Frazer, in his *Commentary* on the text of Pausanias (II, pp. 69-70), has an excellent paragraph on the subject. I give, in summary with a few direct quotations, his remarks: The word, derived from *ξύω*, to scrape, smooth, polish, is applicable, according to the statements of ancient Greek lexicographers, to images of wood, stone, or ivory. Strabo applies it to the Phidian chryselephantine Zeus and the Polyclitan chryselephantine Hera, to the marble Nemesis at Rhamnus, and to the Scopasian statue of Apollo Smintheus at Chryse, a work which was almost certainly of marble. Lucian extends it to images of bronze and silver. Clement of Alexandria and also Servius state that it is properly restricted to wooden images. "Pausanias appears to use the word always in this, its restricted, sense (wooden image); at least there are many passages in his work in which the word *must*, and none in which it *may* not, mean a wooden image." Pausanias enumerates the kinds of wood used, mentions *xoana* of olive, *agnus*, and oak, and from wooden figure heads; he opposes *xoana* to stone images and bronze; in speaking of acrolithic

statues, he distinguishes the marble parts from the wooden *xoana*; he mentions a *xoanon* which was said to have floated from Delos to the Peloponnese. "Hence, even when there is nothing in the context to show what the material was, we may always assume that by *xoanon* Pausanias means a wooden image. . . . In some passages it is implied that the *xoana* were of rude archaic character, as we should have expected." He mentions old *xoana* made by Daedalus and gives it as his opinion that in the days of Danaus all images, especially Egyptian statues, were *xoana*. Finally, by Pausanias the word *xoanon* is used of statues of deities, never of those of men.¹

My special study I have confined to the text of Pausanias, who uses the word *ξόανον* no less than sixty times. It seems to me reasonable, if a technical definition is to be adopted, to take his,—provided it be demonstrated that he is consistent,—inasmuch as his work is avowedly antiquarian and the word occurs incomparably more often in it than in that of any other ancient writer. Dr. Frazer's whole comment is an admirable general statement, but it cites only a few of the many passages in which the term is used by Pausanias and does not pretend to give the detailed information which may be gleaned from a comparison of all the occurrences. In particular, I have sought to determine whether Pausanias restricts the word to a specific type of wooden image,—as, for example, the standing, as opposed to the seated, or the female, as opposed to the male, or the draped, as opposed to the nude.

For convenience I have grouped the passages from Pausanias,—excluding those which are doubtful or ambiguous,—according to the two tables which follow:

¹ I have not considered it necessary to note here the references to Pausanias which support each of Dr. Frazer's statements. The passages which he cites from other ancient writers are: Hesychius, *s. v.* *ξόανον*; Pollux, *Onom.* I, 7; Strabo, VIII, pp. 353 ff., p. 372; IX, p. 396; XIII, p. 604; Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 39; *Alex.* 78; Clement Alex., *Protr.* p. 290; Servius, *ad Aen.* II, 225; IV, 56. The modern authorities to whom he refers are: Siebelis, *Paus.* I, pp. xlii ff.; Schubart, 'Die Wörter *ἀγαλμα*, *εἰκών*, *ξόανον*, *ἀνδριάς*, u. verwandte in ihren verschiedenen Beziehungen, nach Paus.' *Philologus*, XXIV, 1866, pp. 561–587; M. Fränkel, *De verbis potioribus quibus opera statuaria Graeci notabant*, pp. 10–13. It should be noted that Siebelis, in the work cited, quotes in full the passages from Hesychius, etc., on which Dr. Frazer bases his conclusions regarding usage in ancient writers apart from Pausanias.

TABLE A

Xoana mentioned by Pausanias: Classified by Deities, Cult Epithets, and Places

DEITY	CULT EPITHET	PLACE	PAUSANIAS
APHRODITE.	None.	Titane.	II, 11, 8.
"	"	Road from Argos to Mantinea.	II, 25, 1.
"	"	Sparta.	III, 15, 10.
"	"	Mt. Maenalus.	VIII, 37, 12.
"	"	Delos.	IX, 40, 3-4.
"	Nicephorus.	Argos.	II, 19, 6.
"	Area.	Sparta.	III, 17, 5.
"	Urania.	Cythera.	III, 23, 1.
"	Machanitis.	Megalopolis.	VIII, 31, 6.
"	Urania.	Thebes.	IX, 16, 3-4.
"	Pandemus.	"	"
"	Apostrophia.	"	"
APOLLO.	None.	Aegina.	II, 30, 1.
"	"	Aegera.	VII, 26, 6.
"	"	Megalopolis.	VIII, 31, 5.
"	"	Mt. Maenalus.	VIII, 37, 12.
"	"	Tegea.	VIII, 53, 7-8.
"	Pythius.	Megara.	I, 42, 5.
"	Decatephorus.	"	"
"	Archegetes.	"	"
"	Lycius.	Argos.	II, 19, 3.
"	"	"	VIII, 46, 3-4.
"	Thearius.	Troezen.	II, 31, 6.
"	Epidelius.	Cape Malea.	III, 23, 2-4.
"	Amazonius.	Pyrrhichus.	III, 25, 3.
"	Carneus.	Leuctra in Laconia.	III, 26, 5.
"	Corynthus.	Corone.	IV, 34, 7.
"	Phallen.	Methymna.	X, 19, 3.
ARES.	None.	Road from Argos to Mantinea.	II, 25, 1.
ARTEMIS.	None.	Cenchreae.	II, 2, 3.
"	"	Argos.	II, 19, 7.
"	"	Orneae.	II, 25, 6.
"	"	Aegina.	II, 30, 1.
"	Taurica.	Brauron.	I, 23, 7; 33, 1.
"	Ephesia.	Corinth.	II, 2, 6.
"	Pheraea.	Sicyon.	II, 10, 7.
"	Orthia.	Sparta.	III, 16, 7-11.
"	"	"	(Cf. VIII, 20, 8; 46, 3; I, 23, 7; 33, 1.)
"	Astratea.	Pyrrhichus.	III, 25, 3.
"	Cedreatis.	Orchomenus in Arcadia.	VIII, 13, 2.
"	Stymphalia.	Stymphalus.	VIII, 22, 7.
ASCLEPIUS.	Agnitas.	Sparta.	III, 14, 7.
ATHENA.	None.	Titane.	II, 12, 1.
"	"	Lessa.	II, 25, 10.
"	"	Mt. Maenalus.	VIII, 37, 12.
"	"	Cnossus.	IX, 40, 3.
"	"	Daulis.	X, 4, 9.
"	"	Painting in Lesche, Delphi.	X, 26, 3.

DEITY	CULT EPITHET	PLACE	PAUSANIAS
ATHENA.	Chalinitis.	Corinth.	II, 4, 1.
"	Cissaea.	Epidaurus.	II, 29, 1.
"	Sthenias.	Troezen.	II, 32, 5.
"	Alea.	Road from Amyclae to Therapne	III, 19, 7.
"	Area.	Plataea.	IX, 4, 1.
AUXESIA.	None.	Aegina.	II, 30, 4.
BRITOMARTIS.	None.	Olous in Crete.	IX, 40, 3.
CHARITES.	None.	Elis.	VI, 24, 6.
CORA.	None.	Mt. Taygetus.	III, 20, 7.
CORONIS.	None.	Titane.	II, 11, 7.
DAMIA.	None.	Aegina.	II, 30, 4.
DEMETER.	Black.	Phigalia.	VIII, 5, 8. VIII, 42, 3-13.
DIONYSUS.	None.	(1) Eleutherae, (2) Athens, (1) a copy of (2).	I, 38, 8.
"	"	Megara.	I, 43, 5.
"	"	Titane.	II, 11, 8.
"	"	Argos.	II, 23, 1.
"	"	Aegina.	II, 30, 1.
"	Lysius.	Corinth.	II, 2, 6-7.
"	Bacchius.	"	"
"	Saotes.	Lerna.	II, 37, 2.
DIOSCURI.	None.	Sicyon.	II, 7, 5.
"	"	Troezen.	II, 31, 6.
"	"	" (outside city).	II, 36, 6.
EILEITHYIA.	None.	Athens (2 <i>xoana</i>).	I, 18, 5.
"	"	Aegium.	VII, 23, 5-6.
ENYALIUS.	None.	Sparta.	III, 15, 7.
EURYNOME (probably Artemis).	None.	Phigalia.	VIII, 41, 4-6.
GE.	Eurysternus.	Crathis.	VII, 25, 13.
HECATE.	None.	Titane.	II, 11, 8.
"	"	Aegina.	II, 30, 2.
HERA.	None.	Megalopolis.	VIII, 31, 5.
"	"	Argos.	VIII, 46, 3.
"	Aphrodite.	Sparta.	III, 13, 8-9.
"	Nympheuomene.	Plataea (<i>Xoana</i> called <i>Daedala</i> used in rites of Hera).	IX, 2, 7 ff.
HERACLES.	None.	Corinth.	II, 4, 5.
"	"	Sicyon.	II, 10, 1.
"	"	Borders of Messenia and Arcadia.	VII, 26, 6.
"	"	Thebes.	VIII, 35, 2.
"	"		IX, 11, 4-5; 40, 3.
HERMES.	None.	Argos.	II, 19, 6.
"	Cyllenius.	Cyllene.	VIII, 17, 2.
MOTHER OF THE GODS.	None.	Titane.	II, 11, 8.

DEITY	CULT EPITHET	PLACE	PAUSANIAS
MUSES.	None.	Megalopolis.	VIII, 31, 5.
NEMESIS.	None.	Rhamnus.	I, 33, 7.
NIKE.	Apteros.	Athens.	III, 15, 7.
"	"	Olympia, imitation of Athens.	V, 26, 6.
ORPHEUS.	None.	Mt. Taygetus.	III, 20, 5.
PAN.	None.	Psytalia.	I, 36, 2.
THETIS.	None.	Sparta.	III, 14, 4-5.
TROPHONIUS.	None.	Lebadea.	IX, 40, 3. Cf. IX, 39 ff.
TYCHE.	None.	Sicyon.	II, 7, 5.
"	"	Titane.	II, 11, 8.
"	"	Elis.	VI, 25, 4.
ZEUS.	None.	Argos.	II, 19, 7.
"	Herceus (on the Acropolis).	Argos.	II, 24, 3.
			VII, 46, 2.

TABLE B

Xoana mentioned by Pausanias: Classified by Descriptive Terms.

I. *Xoana* contrasted with Marble and Metal Images:

1. With Marble: II, 10, 7; 11, 8; 37, 2; VII, 23, 5-6; VIII, 37, 12; 53, 7-8; IX, 11, 4.

2. With Bronze: IV, 34, 7; VIII, 42, 7 (implicit); X, 19, 3.

In II, 11, 6, where Pausanias states that he is uncertain whether images named are of wood or metal, it is noteworthy that he does not use the word, *Xoanon*.

II. Acrolithic *Xoana* (ξόανα πλὴν προσώπου τε καὶ χειρῶν ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα δὲ λίθου):

II, 4, 1; VI, 24, 6; 25, 4; VII, 23, 5; VIII, 31, 6; IX, 4, 1.

Pausanias' definition of acrolithic *xoana* postulates a contrast between the stone and other portions of the *xoanon*.

III. Gilded *Xoana*:

II, 2, 6-7 (Two *Xoana*; all but faces gilded; these smeared with red); VI, 24, 6 (Drapery of *Xoana* of Charites gilded); VI, 25, 4 (All but head, hands, and feet gilded); VIII, 22, 7 (Greater part of *Xoanon*); VIII, 53, 7-8; IX, 4, 1 (All but head, hands, and feet gilded).

IV. Large *Xoana*:

VI, 25, 4; VII, 26, 6; VIII, 17, 2 (8 ft. high); IX, 4, 1 (By comparison with Athena Promachos of Phidias).

V. Small *Xoana*:

III, 16, 10-11 (Artemis Orthia); IX, 40, 3-4 (Delian Aphrodite); X, 26, 3 (Palladium held by Cassandra, painting in Lesche, Delphi).

VI. Seated Type:

II, 37, 2 (Dionysus Saotes); VIII, 13, 2 (Artemis Cedreatis,—*ἵδρυνται ἐν κέδρω μεγάλη*); VIII, 42, 4 (Black Demeter at Phigalia).

VII. Standing Type:

II, 25, 6 (Artemis at Orneae); III, 16, 10-11 (Artemis Orthia at Sparta; the epithet probably means "standing"; at any rate the type, which seems to have been the same as that of the Taurica, is shown by vases representing the theft of the Tauric image by Orestes and Iphigenia to have been standing).

VIII. Nude Type:

II, 4, 5 (Heracles); II, 30, 1 (Apollo); VII, 26, 6 (*Xoanon* of Apollo and evidently also one of Heracles).

IX. Draped Type (*i.e.* carved drapery):

II, 30, 1 (Artemis and Dionysus); VI, 24, 6 (Charites); VIII, 42, 4 (Black Demeter at Phigalia).

X. *Xoana* Draped in Actual Garment of Stuff:

I, 18, 5 (Eileithyia); VII, 23, 5-6 (Eileithyia).

Pausanias notes in the first passage that only with Athenians was it customary to cover statues of Eileithyia, but the second passage records evidently the same custom at Aegium.

In I, 43, 5, Pausanias seems to be speaking of a garment which concealed all but the face of a *Xoanon* of Dionysus at Megara. In II, 11, 6, he speaks of garments thrown over the image of Asclepius, but in this instance he is not sure whether the statue is of wood or metal. See above, I. The custom of draping an image is strongly suggested in the account of the origin of the festival of the *Daedala* in honor of Hera Nymphneuomene at Plataea, IX, 2, 7-3, 9.

XI. Artists Named:

II, 30, 2 (Myron); 31, 6 (Hermon of Troezen, evidently an early artist); 32, 5 (Callon); V, 26, 6 (Calamis, an imitation); VII, 23, 6 and VIII, 31, 6 (Damophon of Messene); VII, 26, 6 and II, 10, 1 (Laphaes, a Phliasian, an early artist); VIII, 53, 8 (Chirisophus, early).

For Daedalus see below, XVI.

In VIII, 42, 3-13, Onatas is named as the sculptor of a bronze copy of the *Xoanon* of the Black Demeter. Later Damophon copied the statue by Onatas.

XII. Instances of Characterization of the Cult Attributes, Accessories, Peculiarities of Pose, etc., of *Xoana*:

II, 30, 1 (Bearded Dionysus); II, 24, 3 and VIII, 46, 2 (Three-eyed Zeus of Priam, Herceus); III, 15, 7 (Enyalios in Fetters); III, 15, 10, and 23, 1 (Armed Aphrodite); III, 26, 5 (Apollo Carneus at Leuctra in Laconia, after type of Carneus at Sparta); VI, 24, 6 (Charites with Attributes); VII, 23, 6 (Eileithyia with Torches); VIII, 41, 5-6 (Eurynome represented as a mermaid in fetters); 42, 3-13 (Horse-Headed Black Demeter, with Attributes).

XIII. Passages which furnish no Description:

II, 7, 5; 36, 6; III, 19, 7.

XIV. Miscellaneous:

I, 36, 6 (*ὅς σὺν τέχνῃ*); VIII, 42, 3-13 (Reverse of above, but the description does not apply to the original *Xoanon*); II, 30, 1 (*τέχνη τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ*, Troezen); IX, 40, 3 (*Xoanon* terminating in *τετράγωνον σχῆμα*).

XV. Woods Used:

VIII, 17, 2 (See below, p. 20); I, 42, 5 (Ebony); IX, 3, 4 (Oak); II, 30, 4 and X, 19, 3, (Olive); III, 14, 7 (Willow).

II, 2, 6-7 (Two *Xoana* of Dionysus made from the tree on which Pentheus was slain); IX, 16, 3-4 (From the *ἀκροστόλια* of the ships of Cadmus).

XVI. *Xoana* venerable by reason of Antiquity, Association with Heroic Legend, Connection with Unusual Rites, or otherwise noteworthy:

I, 23, 7 and 33, 1 (Artemis Taurica, Athens and Brauron); 33, 7 (*ἀγιώτατον*); 38, 8 (Imported, *τὸ ἀρχαῖον*); 43, 5 (Dedicated by Polyidus of Megara); II, 2, 3 (*ἀρχαῖον*); 2, 6-7 (Associated with Pentheus); 4, 1 (Associated with Bellerophon); 4, 5 (Work of Daedalus); 10, 1 (*ἀρχαῖον*); 10, 7 (Imported to Sicyon from Pherae); 19, 3 (Dedicated by Danaus); 19, 6 (Two *Xoana*; one the work of Epeus, other dedicated by Hypermetra); 19, 7 (Dedicated by Danaus); 23, 1; 24,

3, and VIII, 46, 2 (Associated with Trojan Legend); II, 25, 1 (Dedicated by Polynices and the Argives); 29, 1 (*θέας δέξιν*); 30, 4 (Damia and Auxesia, peculiar cult; Cf. Herodotus, V, 82-83); 37, 2 (Dedicated by the Danaides); III, 13, 8-9 (*ἀρχαίων*; associated with epichoric marriage rites); 14, 4-5 (*Xoanon* miraculously discovered; kept in secret); 15, 7 (*ἀρχαίων*); 16, 11 (Artemis Orthia at Sparta; peculiar rites); 17, 5 (Among most ancient memorials in Greece); 20, 5 (Work of the Pelasgians); 23, 1 (In shrine, most holy and ancient); 25, 3 (Dedicated by the Amazons); IV, 34, 7 (In very ancient shrine); VII, 20, 8 (Unusual rites); 25, 13 (Very ancient); 26, 6 (*ἀρχαίων*); VIII, 22, 7 (In ancient shrine); 31, 5 (*ἀρχαίων*); 35, 2 (Work of Daedalus); 41, 5-6 (*Xoanon* of Eurynome, displayed only once a year); 42, 3-13 and 5, 8 (Black Demeter); IX, 4, 1 (From the spoils of Marathon); 11, 4-5 (Work and dedication of Daedalus); 16, 3-4 (Dedicated by Harmonia); 40, 3 (Work of Daedalus and dedication of Ariadne); X, 4, 9 (Imported by Procne from Athens to Daulis); 19, 3 (*Xoanon* miraculously recovered from sea).

As a rather striking *prolegomenon* to the conclusions which may be drawn from these charts, it should be remarked that there are only three passages (catalogued under Table B, XIII) which are negligible in that they give no descriptive comment. I draw from the tables these inferences:

From Table A: Pausanias uses the word *xoanon* only of statues of divinities, male or female. The only instance where the *xoanon* may not strictly be interpreted as a cult-image is to be found in the passage on the Feast of the *Daedala* at Plataea (IX, 2, 7 ff.). On this occasion a number of *xoana*, called *daedala*, were consumed by the sacrificial fire in honor of Hera Nymphneuomene.

From Table B: (1) A *xoanon* is not of marble or metal; (2) it may be acrolithic; (3) it may be gilded, entirely or in part; (4) it may be large or small; (5) it may be seated or standing; (6) it may be nude or draped (*i.e.*, drapery plastically represented); (7) it may be clad in a real garment of stuff; (8) it may be represented with various attributes and accessories; (9) the artists named are, except in one instance where Myron is mentioned, either early sculptors who carved ancient *xoana* or later sculptors who made copies of ancient *xoana*; (10) it was customary to use certain kinds of wood for *xoana*; (11) *xoana* were peculiarly venerable, often dating from a remote antiquity, and likewise often connected with heroic legend or mysterious and unusual rites.

To put it more concisely, Pausanias meant by the word *an ancient wooden statue of a deity, male or female*, carved after any type desired, *i.e.*, standing, seated, draped, or nude. It was by no means essential that a *xoanon* be clad in real garments.

The word *xoanon* is not the only term by which Pausanias designates images of wood. In fifteen passages, noted in the index to the Teubner text of Pausanias,¹ the phrase ξύλου ἄγαλμα is used, a mode of speech which is clearly a variant for the single word *xoanon*. For instance, in one passage (X, 19, 3) he uses the two terms of the same image; in another (VIII, 37, 12) his remarks show that the two undoubtedly are identical in meaning; and two more passages (IX, 3, 1; 16, 3) definitely support this statement. I mention the point in passing, not because it is of importance, but as a precaution against possible misunderstandings, and it is to be observed that for tabulation I have, in conservative fashion, chosen only the passages where the word *xoanon* occurs.

It seems appropriate here, at the end of the formal study of the tables, to state more general conclusions by correlating the evidence which I have gathered with that quoted above from Dr. Frazer. The word *xoanon*, then, at first restricted to images of wood, grew at length to have a meaning synonymous with ἄγαλμα, εἰκὼν, etc., although Pausanias consistently confines it to archaic or archaistic wooden statues of deities. I have been unable to find any support for the rather popular theory that the term applies specifically to statues either of columnar or board type, and I am inclined to believe that this assumption has rested on the idea that images carved from tree-trunks, shorter logs, and planks must have been the earliest plastic types in Greece. Ancient Greek usage certainly furnishes no ground for assigning the term *xoanon-type* to the Hera of Samos or the Naxian statue from Delos and denying the appellation to other archaic types, as, for example, the seated "Athena" from the Acropolis at Athens and the primitive "Apollo" figures. In so far as one sees in any of these early types a rendering which may be supposed to give in stone an idea of the older wooden image,—the hypothetical prototype,—one might, I should say, designate it as belonging to the *xoanon-type*. However little a gathering together of evidence from Pausanias may ultimately modify archaeological nomenclature in this particular, it seems to me that it shows conclusively that among the early wooden statues of which he speaks,—*xoana*, as he calls them,—the male is as well known as the female type, while, as I have indicated above, there was variety

¹ For an ἄγαλμα of a specific kind of wood, see Paus. V, 13, 7. Cf. also VII, 22, 9; I, 27, 1; VIII, 23, 1.

in the matter of cult-attributes and general accessories and the nude *xoanon* had its place as well as the draped. I have, it must likewise be remarked, found no reason for believing that it was a common custom to hang garments,—i.e., real drapery of stuff,—on *xoana*. There are, as Table B indicates, only two instances where Pausanias definitely records such practice in regard to images which he names *xoana*. It is noteworthy that in each case the deity whose statue is so draped is Eileithyia and that Pausanias makes the comment (I, 18, 5) that it is a convention only with the Athenians to hang garments on *xoana* of Eileithyia, although by citing the same custom in relation to a *xoanon* of this goddess at Aegium,—the second of the two passages,—he clearly contradicts his own theory of local tradition. Undoubtedly we should infer from his account that there was this practice at the feast of the *Daedala* in honor of Hera Nympheuomene at Plataea, as the legend explanatory of the rites told of a wooden image wrapped in garments to simulate a mortal bride of Zeus. The cult epithet suggests to me that the deity of the festival was similar to Eileithyia. Thus it would appear that the swathing of *xoana* in garments had ritual significance.¹ At any rate the practice, as far as Pausanias' testimony is concerned, is clearly not essentially concerned with *xoana* as such.

That there existed various types of wooden images in early Greek sculpture must, of course, mean that the material was freely used as a plastic medium in the archaic period. I incline to the opinion that it was the fashion to carve these then, not so much because the days of "Baumkultus" were not far away, but rather because artists, however crude their technique, had somehow inherited,—presumably by way of Crete,—the Egyptian tradition which, it is needless to say, gave conspicuous place to wood as a material for the work of sculptors. I even hazard the conjecture that the striking absence of sculpture among the remains of the otherwise richly artistic Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations is explicable by the simple fact that the soil of the lands where these cultures flourished does not have that miracu-

¹ Possibly the custom of dedicating garments at the Brauronian shrine on the Acropolis at Athens tends to assign Artemis Brauronia to the cult-type of Artemis Eileithyia. Pausanias calls the image of the Brauronia a *xoanon*, but he does not say that it was hung with garments. I have not discussed the two uncertain passages, recorded in Table B, where there is possibly reference to *xoana* draped in actual garments, one of Dionysus, the other of Asclepius.

lous property of preserving wood possessed by the earth of Egypt. Certainly the wooden images which Pausanias saw in Greece in the second century of our era have vanished.

Several items in the texts of Pausanias which have been cited group themselves to support such a theory,—that is, that streams of influence from Egypt and Crete contributed to the development of Greek sculpture in wood. Speaking of a *xoanon* which Daedalus had dedicated as the cult-image in the shrine of Apollo Lycius at Argos, he says (II, 19, 3): *ξόανα γὰρ δὴ τότε εἶναι πείθομαι πάντα καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Αἰγύπτια*. Daedalus, in several other passages named as the author of *xoana*, receives in particular these comments: (VIII, 53, 8) *ἡ δὲ δίαίτα ἡ ἐν Κνωσσῷ Δαιδάλῳ παρὰ Μίνῳ συμβᾶσα ἐπὶ μακρότερον δόξαν τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ ἐπὶ ξοάνων ποιήσει παρεσκεύασε*; (II, 4, 5) *Δαίδαλος δέ, ὅποσα εἰργάσατο, ἀτοπώτερα μὲν ἐστὶν ἐς τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπιπρέπει δὲ ὁμῶς τι καὶ ἐνθεον τούτοις*. To Pausanias Daedalus is more clearly a real personality than he is to modern scholars, and yet our Greek commentator is not lacking in the acumen of our own sceptical generation when he divines (IX, 3, 2) that *Δαίδαλος*, the son of Palamaon, must have received his name from the *xoana* which he wrought and which οἱ πάλαι called *δαίδαλα*. He speaks (VIII, 53, 7-8) of another Cretan artist of early times whose name, Chrisophus, appears also to be symbolic of his trade. It would be valuable to know what were the distinguishing marks of the two types of *xoana* which he discriminates, the Egyptian and the Aeginetan (I, 42, 5). Since he feels that Egyptian *xoana* were the prevalent statues of very ancient days (II, 19, 3), it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Aeginetan was a derived type. Of the Aeginetan artist Callon, whom he mentions as the sculptor of a *xoanon* of Athena Sthenias at Troezen, he gives the artistic genealogy (II, 32, 5), stating that he was a pupil of Tectaeus and Angelion, who in their turn learned their trade from Dipoenus and Scyllis. These last belong to the pre-archaic, or semi-mythical, Cretan "schools." There is, as all authorities on the history of Greek sculpture show, a good deal of evidence that Crete was an early centre in the development of plastic art, a fact the more remarkable since the island was in later Hellenic times a backwater of civilization, which had no part to play in the growth of Greek genius. In the light of the recent amazing discoveries in Crete and the patent fact of intercourse between Egypt and the "Minoan" kingdom, it does not seem bold to assume that there is truth in the traditions of Cretan

and Egyptian influence on Greek art. It is only just to add that, of course, it is not impossible that, while pre-historic Crete affected Greek art in many ways, in the matter of sculpture some religious scruple,—comparable to that which has been inhibitive among the members of the Eastern Church, and, to a still greater degree, among the Hebrews and Mohammedans,—may have operated to prevent the “Minoans” from essaying artistic work in that field. Their frescoes and other extant forms of art, however, do not, it must be said, suggest the presence of a force hampering free artistic expression in any form. It is tempting on all accounts to take this step mentally between the wooden images of Egypt and those of Greece. Possibly we may infer that Aegina modified the Cretan-Egyptian stimulus by another current of influence, either indigenous or sprung from Babylonian tradition. Indubitably Aegina in the early historic Greek period had a vigorous “school” of sculpture. These conjectures regarding the origin of wood-technique are all that properly have place in a bald paper which counts texts. I cannot refrain from stating the opinion, nevertheless, that students of classical antiquity are strangely afraid to attempt the interpretation of Greek legends in the light of the discoveries of excavators on pre-Hellenic sites in Greek lands. Even erroneous inferences sometimes prove enfranchising.¹

I have reserved for full quotation Pausanias’ interesting passage on the kinds of wood of which *xoana* were ordinarily made: τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅποσα καὶ ἡμεῖς καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, τοσάδε ἦν ἀφ’ ὧν τὰ ξόανα ἐποιοῦντο, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ κέδροι, τὰ δρύινα, ἡ μῦλαξ, ὁ λωτός· τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ τῷ Κυλληνίῳ τούτων μὲν ἀπὸ οὐδενός, θύου δὲ πεποιημένον τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν (VIII, 17, 2). It is odd that he does not here include willow (ἄγνος, λύγος, etc.) and olive, which he names in specific instances as materials for *xoana* (Table B, XV). The Cadmean *acrostolia* and the Pentheus-tree are, naturally, outside the common range of classification.

Finally, it may be instructive for future study to state the names of the deities of whom respectively Pausanias mentions

¹ I have felt that I should be transgressing the limits of this present study if I were to state a chain of reasoning instituted in my mind by Pausanias’ mention of a *xoanon* which terminated in a pillar, τετράγωνον σχῆμα (IX, 40, 3). It is debatable whether he means a herm entirely of wood or an image wherein a wooden torso was directly joined to a stone basis. Another passage (II, 19, 7) may have some bearing on this point.

more than three *zoana*. The list, arranged according to a descending scale based on these numerical instances, is this: Apollo, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Dionysus, Hera, Heracles. The numbers may easily be reckoned by reference to Table A. This evidence may at some time become peculiarly significant in a study of early Greek religion or of early Greek plastic types.

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